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MODERN AMERICAN SPEECHES

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EDITED
WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTIONS
BY

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PREFACE

MANY times during his work as a teacher of English, the editor has felt that it would be desirable to present to high school pupils some speeches by American authors on subjects of our own day. He does not believe that the older classics have no message for the coming generation, nor does he believe that *the later writings* are too new or too poor in quality for the instruction and inspiration of our youth. If a science text-book should present the principles of the gas engine and the aeroplane, why should not a literature text offer equally modern material? Such an innovation has been made in poetry; and the effect of "Poetry of the People" on classes encourages the editor to attempt a similar innovation in prose. This book, therefore, presents four selections from authors who are living at the present time or who have died recently, on subjects of vital importance to Americans of to-day and to-morrow.

Carl Schurz's "True Americanism," although the speech was delivered in 1858, nevertheless has present interest because it was far in advance of its time and foreshadowed some principles of twentieth century government. "The New South" brings now the the same appeal that Henry W. Grady carried to the North in 1886 for a better understanding of the South.

John Hay discusses the peace question in a practical way in "America's Love of Peace." Although he feels strongly the obstacles in the way of international peace, yet he recites the advances made by the movement and looks to its ultimate success. Elihu Root shows us in "The Pan-American Spirit" a specific step toward international friendliness. The cumulative effect of these four selections reveals an American ideal developed within our nation and reaching out to influence the world.

Neither teacher nor pupil should expect to find here the same styles that characterize the works of Burke and Webster and Macaulay. As time has brought changes in other fashions, so it has introduced new styles of oratory. These writings reveal their authors as masters of clearness, ease, and force. Wit, pathos, homely idiom, literary allusion, unexaggerated eloquence—all will appeal to the reader as they did to the audiences that were moved by their authors.

The choice of authors and selections has been difficult because of the many eloquent speakers of the last twenty years. The necessary brevity of a high school text and a certain unity of tone in the selections chosen, have limited this book to the scope previously mentioned.

L. W. B.

Kingston, R. I.

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LIFE OF CARL SCHURZ

LIFE OF CARL SCHURZ

To the American youth of to-day the account of the first twenty years of the life of Carl Schurz must read like a romance. Before he had reached his majority he had taken part in a revolution, narrowly escaped capture and execution, and rescued a friend from a prison near Berlin. These adventures seem near our own times; for their hero, after military and political service in our country, died in 1906.

Carl Schurz was born at Liblar, near Cologne, in southern Germany, on March 2, 1829. He grew up in an atmosphere of intelligent discussion of political affairs and the spirit of democracy. At some sacrifice to his parents he was educated at the gymnasium in Cologne and at the University of Bonn. Literature and music attracted him from the first. As a member of the Burschenschaft Franconia, a student organization that trained its members in writing and speaking, he made a name for himself as a brilliant satirist and a vigorous speaker on public questions.

In 1847 Schurz came under the influence of Professor Gottfried Kinkel, a lecturer on literature and art. Personal acquaintance with this inspiring teacher and contact with the group of liberal minded men and women who gathered at his house, caused Schurz to join the movement of protest against existing political conditions. So in February, 1848, when the

news came that the French people had driven away Louis Philippe and proclaimed the republic, he joined in the student demonstrations.

Many provinces in Germany were rising to force their rulers to urge upon the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV, the granting of a constitutional form of government and the union of the German states This movement apparently culminated in success when on March 18, 1848, the citizens of Berlin, who had been fired upon by soldiers for demanding a hearing from the King, fought all day in the streets and drove out the army. With great self restraint they took the dead bodies of their comrades into the courtyard of the palace, summoned the King to a window to gaze upon them, sang "Jesus, My Refuge," and departed in grim solemnity. The King then acceded to all requests and agreed to summon a parliament at Frankfurt for the purpose of uniting all Germany under a democratic constitutional government. In a few months, however, Frederick William IV repudiated all his promises and prorogued the parliament that he had summoned. At once the people rose in revolt and in Bavaria, Baden, and Saxony drove out their rulers.

To support these revolutionists an attempt was made by the students of Bonn to seize a government armory in a neighboring town. Because of the failure of this attempt, Kinkel and Schurz were forced to flee to the Palatinate. After a brief and disastrous campaign in Bavaria and Baden, the revolutionary army sustained a siege in the fortress of Rastatt. When this stronghold surrendered, Schurz escaped capture and certain execution by making his way

through a sewer to the river and crossing into French territory on the west of the Rhine.

His joy at his own escape was turned into sorrow by the news that Kinkel had been captured and sentenced to life imprisonment in a civil penitentiary at Spandau, near Berlin. Despite the difficulty and hazard of the task, he determined to try to rescue his friend. Traveling on the passport of a cousin who resembled him, Schurz went to Bonn, where he saw Frau Kinkel. With enthusiastic faith she entrusted the enterprise of rescue to this youth of twenty. On August 11, 1849, he entered the city of Berlin. After nearly three months of careful planning, he arranged, by means of a large sum of money and by the wholesouled help of two admirers of Kinkel, to liberate his friend. On November 6th, at midnight, Kinkel descended by a rope from the prison loft to which a friendly guard had taken him, entered a carriage which Schurz had waiting, and was whirled away to Rostock, seventy miles north on the Baltic Sea. After being sheltered there for nine days in the home of Mr. Brockelmann, Kinkel and Schurz set sail in one of their host's ships and finally landed at Edinburgh, Scotland, on November 29, 1849. Of their feelings Schurz writes: "At last—all danger past, no more pursuit, a new life ahead! It was glorious."

(The student will enjoy reading the detailed account of these adventures in "The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz," Vol. I.)

For nearly three years Schurz resided in London, where he made his living by teaching German and music. In that city and during occasional trips to Paris and Switzerland, he met such famous men as

Mazzini and Louis Kossuth. Having married in 1852 and being convinced of the uselessness of further attempts at revolution in Germany, he and his wife emigrated to the United States in September, 1852.

In New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, Schurz perfected his knowledge of the English language and of our law and political institutions. Soon he settled in Madison, Wisconsin, and took up the practice of law. In the political campaigns of 1858 and 1860 he spoke effectively for the newly formed Republican party. In recognition of Schurz's ability and aid, President Lincoln appointed him Minister to Spain in 1861. Within a year, however, he returned after valuable service in preventing foreign antagonism to the Union cause, and served with credit as a brigadier general throughout the Civil War.

After four years of journalistic work, he was elected in 1869 United States senator from Missouri. As an independent he opposed President Grant's annexation schemes. With Curtis, he represented conservation and the highest statesmanship. In 1875 he spoke for sound finance against "Greenbackism." Under President Hayes, as Secretary of the Interior, he began the Civil Service reform. In 1884, 1888, and 1892 he supported Cleveland, and in 1896 he opposed Bryan on the "free silver" question.

When public feeling was being stirred up against Spain by the "yellow journals" in 1898, Schurz urged President McKinley to withstand the popular clamor and endeavor to relieve Cuba by peaceable methods. He was not blind to the humanitarian motive of the United States, but he recalled vividly the horrors that he had witnessed at Gettysburg and wished to

avert another war. In the editorial columns of the "New York Evening Post," Schurz vigorously opposed the policy of imperialism. He predicted truly and accurately the burdens that imperialism would bring. If he could have anticipated the ultimate withdrawal of the United States from the Philippines, as announced by President Taft on July 4, 1910, his attitude might have been different. It was hardly possible, however, for the statesman of seventy-three years to look at so great a task with the dashing enthusiasm that had led the youth of nineteen to rescue his friend, single-handed, from the whole official power of Germany.

Carl Schurz died on May 14, 1906. His last words were: "Es ist so einfach zu sterben"—"It is so simple to die."

Works

"Occasional Speeches."
"Life of Henry Clay."
"Essay on Abraham Lincoln."
"Reminiscences of Carl Schurz."

TRUE AMERICANISM

TRUE AMERICANISM*

A Speech by Carl Schurz

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

A few days ago I stood on the cupola of your State-house, and overlooked for the first time this venerable city and the country surrounding it. Then the streets, and hills, and waters around me began to teem with the life of historical recollections, recollections dear to all mankind, and a feeling of pride arose in my heart, and I said to myself, I, too, am an American citizen. (Applause.) There was Bunker Hill, there Charlestown, Lexington, and Dorchester Heights not far off; there the harbor into which the British tea was sunk; there the place where the old liberty-tree stood; there John Hancock's house; there Benjamin Franklin's birthplace—and now I stand in this grand old hall, which so often resounded with the noblest appeals that ever thrilled American hearts, and where I am almost afraid to hear the echo of my own feeble voice; oh, sir, no man that loves liberty, wherever he may have first seen the light of day, can fail on this sacred spot to pay his tribute to Americanism. And here, with all these glorious memories crowding upon my heart, I will offer mine. I, born in a foreign land, pay my tribute to Americanism? Yes, for to me, the

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word Americanism, *true* Americanism, comprehends the noblest ideas which ever swelled a human heart with noble pride. (Applause.)

It is one of the earliest recollections of my boyhood, that one summer night our whole village was stirred up by an uncommon occurrence. I say our village, for I was born not far from that beautiful spot where the Rhine rolls his green waters out of the wonderful gate of the Seven Mountains, and then meanders with majestic tranquillity through one of the most glorious valleys of the world. That night our neighbors were pressing around a few wagons covered with linen sheets and loaded with household utensils and boxes and trunks to their utmost capacity. One of our neighboring families was moving far away across a great water, and it was said that they would never again return. And I saw silent tears trickling down weather-beaten cheeks, and the hands of rough peasants firmly pressing each other, and some of the men and women hardly able to speak when they nodded to one another a last farewell. At last the train started into motion, they gave three cheers for *America*, and then in the first gray dawn of the morning I saw them wending their way over the hill until they disappeared in the shadow of the forest. And I heard many a man say, how happy he would be if he could go with them to that great and free country, where a man could be himself. (Applause.)

That was the first time that I heard of America, and my childish imagination took possession of a land covered partly with majestic trees, partly with flowery prairies, immeasurable to the eye, and intersected with large rivers and broad lakes—a land where every-

body could do what he thought best, and where nobody need be poor, because everybody was free.

Later, when I was old enough to read, and descriptions of this country and books on American history fell into my hands, the offspring of my imagination acquired the colors of reality, and I began to exercise my brain with the thought what man might be and become, when left perfectly free to himself. And still later, when ripening into manhood, I looked up from my school-books into the stir and bustle of the world, and the trumpet-tones of struggling humanity struck my ear and thrilled my heart, and I saw my nation shake her chains in order to burst them, and I heard a gigantic, universal shout for Liberty rising up to the skies; and at last, after having struggled manfully and drenched the earth of Fatherland with the blood of thousands of noble beings, I saw that nation crushed down again, not only by overwhelming armies, but by the dead weight of customs and institutions and notions and prejudices, which past centuries had heaped upon them, and which a moment of enthusiasm, however sublime, could not destroy; then I consoled an almost despondent heart with the idea of a youthful people and of original institutions clearing the way for an untrammeled development of the ideal nature of man. Then I turned my eyes instinctively across the Atlantic Ocean, and America and Americanism, as I fancied them, appeared to me as the last depositories of the hopes of all true friends of humanity. (Applause.)

I say all this, not as though I indulged in the presumptuous delusion that my personal feelings and experience would be of any interest to you, but in

order to show you what America is to the thousands of thinking men in the old world, who, disappointed in their fondest hopes and depressed by the saddest experience, cling with their last remnant of confidence in human nature, to the last spot on earth where man is free to follow the road to attainable perfection, and where, unbiassed by the disastrous influence of traditional notions, customs, and institutions, he acts on his own responsibility. They ask themselves: Was it but a wild delusion when we thought that man has the faculty to be free and to govern himself? Have we been fighting, were we ready to die, for a mere phantom, for a mere product of a morbid imagination? This question downtrodden humanity cries out into the world, and from this country it expects an answer.

As its advocate I speak to you. I will speak of Americanism as the great representative of the reformatory age, as the great champion of the dignity of human nature, as the great repository of the last hopes of suffering mankind. I will speak of the ideal mission of this country and of this people.

You may tell me that these views are visionary, that the destiny of this country is less exalted, that the American people are less great than I think they are or ought to be. I answer, ideals are like stars; you will not succeed in touching them with your hands. But like the seafaring man on the desert of waters, you choose them as your guides, and following them you will reach your destiny. I invite you to ascend with me the watchtower of history, overlooking the grand panorama of the development of human affairs, in which the American Republic stands in so bold and prominent relief.

He who reviews the past of this country in connection with the history of the world besides, cannot fail to discover a wonderful coincidence of great events and fortunate circumstances, which were destined to produce everlasting results, unless recklessly thrown away by imbecile generations.

Look back with me four or five centuries. The dark period of the middle ages is drawing near its close. The accidental explosion of that mysterious black powder, discovered by an obscure German monk, is the first flash of lightning preluding that gigantic thunder-storm which is to shatter the edifice of feudal society to pieces. The invention of gunpowder strips the feudal lord of his prestige as a *warrior;* another discovery is to strip him of his prestige as a *man!* Guttenberg, another obscure German, invents the printing-press, and as gunpowder blows the castles of the small feudal tyrants into the air, so the formidable artillery of printed letters batters down the citadels of ignorance and superstition. (Loud applause.) Soul and body take up arms and prepare themselves for the great battle of the Reformation. Now the mighty volcano of the German mind bursts the crust of indolence which has covered it. The world is ablaze, all the elements of society are rising up in boiling commotion—two ages are battling against each other.

Meanwhile, a new country has opened its boundless fields to those great ideas, for the realization of which the old world seems no longer to be wide enough. It is as though the earth herself had taken part in the general revolution, and had thrown up from her sea-covered womb a new battle-ground for the spirit of the new era. That is America. Not only the invention

of gunpowder and of the printing-press, but also the discovery of America inaugurates the modern age.

There is the new and immense continent. The most restless and enterprising elements of European society direct their looks toward it. First, the greediness of the gold-hunting adventurers pounces upon the new conquest; but his inordinate appetites being disappointed, he gradually abandons the field to men in whose hearts the future of the new world is sleeping, unborn.

While the coast of Virginia is settled by a motley immigration, led and ruled by men of ideas and enterprise, the sturdiest champions of principle descend upon the stony shores of New England. (Applause.) While the southern colonies are settled under the auspices of lordly merchants and proprietaries, original democracy plants its stern banner upon Plymouth Rock. (Applause.) Mercantile speculation, aristocratic ambition, and stern virtue that seeks freedom and nothing but freedom, lead the most different classes of people, different in origin, habits, and persuasion, upon the virgin soil, and entrust to them that task of realizing the great principles of the age. Nor is this privilege confined to one nationality alone. While the Anglo-Saxon takes possession of New England, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, the Frenchman plants his colonies on the soil of French Florida and the interior of the continent; the Hollander locates New Netherlands on the banks of the Hudson; the Swede, led there by the great mind of Oxenstiern, occupies the banks of the Delaware; the Spaniard maintains himself in Peninsular Florida, and a numerous immigration of Germans, who follow the call of religious freedom,

and of Irishmen, gradually flowing in, scatters itself all over this vast extent of country. Soon all the social and national elements of the civilized world are represented in the new land. Every people, every creed, every class of society has contributed its share to that wonderful mixture out of which is to grow the great nation of the new world. It is true, the Anglo-Saxon establishes and maintains his ascendency, but without absolutely absorbing the other national elements. They modify each other, and their peculiar characteristics are to be blended together by the all-assimilating power of freedom. This is the origin of the American nationality, which did not spring from one family, one tribe, one country, but incorporates the vigorous elements of all civilized nations on earth. (Applause.)

This fact is not without great importance. It is an essential link in the chain of historical development. The student of history cannot fail to notice that when new periods of civilization break upon humanity, the people of the earth cannot maintain their national relations. New ideas are to be carried out by young nations. From time to time, violent, irresistible hurricanes sweep over the world, blowing the most different elements of the human family together, which by mingling reinvigorate each other, and the general confusion then becomes the starting-point of a new period of progress. Nations which have long subsisted exclusively on their own resources, will gradually lose their original vigor, and die the death of decrepitude. But mankind becomes young again by its different elements being shaken together, by race crossing race, and mind penetrating mind. (Applause.)

The oldest traditions of history speak of such great revulsions and general migrations, and if we could but lift the veil which covers the remotest history of Asiatic tribes, we should discover the first scenes and acts of the drama, of which the downfall of the Roman empire is a portion. When that empire had exhausted its natural vitality, the dark forests of the North poured forth a barbarous but vigorous multitude, who trampled into ruins the decrepit civilization of the Roman world, but infused new blood into the veins of old Europe, grasping the great ideas of Christianity with a bloody but firm hand—and a new period of original progress sprang out of the seeming devastation. The German element took the helm of history. But, in the course of time, the development of things arrived at a new turning-point. The spirit of individualism took possession of the heart of civilized humanity, and the reformatory movement of the sixteenth century was its expression. But continental Europe appeared unable to incorporate the new and progressive ideas growing out of that spirit, in organic political institutions. While the heart of Europe was ravaged by a series of religious wars, the Anglo-Saxons of England attempted what other nations seemed unable to accomplish. But they also clung too fast to the traditions of past centuries; they failed in separating the Church from the State, and did not realize the cosmopolitan tendency of the new principle. Then the time of a new migration was at hand, and that migration rolled its waves toward America. (Applause.) The old process repeated itself under new forms, milder and more congenial to the humane ideas it represented. It is now not a barbarous multitude

pouncing upon old and decrepit empires; not a violent concussion of tribes accompanied by all the horrors of general destruction; but we see the vigorous elements of all nations, we see the Anglo-Saxon, the leader in the practical movement, with his spirit of independence, of daring enterprise, and of indomitable perseverance; the German, the original leader in the movement of ideas, with his spirit of inquiry and his quiet and thoughtful application; the Celt, with the impulsive vivacity of his race; the Frenchman, the Scandinavian, the Scot, the Hollander, the Spaniard, and Italian—all these peaceably congregating and mingling together on virgin soil, where the backwoodsman's hatchet is the only battle-axe of civilization; led together by the irresistible attraction of free and broad principles; undertaking to commence a new era in the history of the world, without first destroying the results of the progress of past periods; undertaking to found a new cosmopolitan nation without marching over the dead bodies of slain millions. Thus was founded the *great colony of free humanity*, which has not old England alone, but the *world*, for its mother-country. (Cheers.)

This idea is, perhaps, not palatable to those who pride themselves on their unadulterated Anglo-Saxondom. To them I have to say, that the destinies of men are often greater than men themselves, and that a good many are swerving from the path of glory by not obeying the true instincts of their nature, and by sacrificing their mission to one-sided pride. (Applause.)

The Anglo-Saxon may justly be proud of the growth and development of this country, and if he ascribes most of it to the undaunted spirit of his race, we may not accuse him of overweening self-glorification. He

possesses, in an eminent degree, the enviable talent of acting when others only think; of promptly executing his own ideas, and of appropriating the ideas of other people to his own use. (Laughter.) There is, perhaps, no other race that, at so early a day, would have founded the stern democracy of the Plymouth settlement, no other race that would have defied the trials and hardships of the original settler's life so victoriously. No other race, perhaps, possesses in so high a degree not only the daring spirit of independent enterprise, but at the same time stubborn steadfastness necessary to the final execution of great designs. The Anglo-Saxon spirit has been the locomotive of progress (applause); but do not forget, that this locomotive would be of little use to the world, if it refused to draw its train over the iron highway, and carry its valuable freight toward its destination; that train consists of the vigorous elements of all nations; that freight is the vital ideas of our age; that destination is universal freedom and the ideal development of man. (Cheers.) That is the true greatness of the Anglo-Saxon race; that ought to be the source of Anglo-Saxon pride. I esteem the son who is proud of his father, if, at the same time, he is worthy of him.

Thus, I say, was founded the colony of free humanity on virgin soil. The youthful elements which constitute people of the new world, cannot submit to rules which are not of their own making; they must throw off the fetters which bind them to an old decrepit order of things. They resolve to enter the great family of nations as an independent member. And in the colony of free humanity, whose mother-country is the world, they establish *the Republic of equal rights*,

where the title of manhood is the title to citizenship. (Applause.) My friends, if I had a thousand tongues, and a voice strong as the thunder of heaven, they would not be sufficient to impress upon your minds forcibly enough the greatness of this idea, the overshadowing glory of this result. This was the dream of the truest friends of man from the beginning; for this the noblest blood of martyrs has been shed; for this has mankind waded through seas of blood and tears. There it is now; there it stands, the noble fabric in all the splendor of reality.

They speak of the greatness of the Roman Republic! Oh, sir, if I could call the proudest of Romans from his grave, I would take him by the hand and say to him: Look at this picture, and at this! The greatness of thy Roman Republic consisted in its despotic rule over the world; the greatness of the American Republic consists in the secured right of man to govern himself. (Applause.) The dignity of the Roman citizen consisted in his exclusive privileges; the dignity of the American citizen consists in his holding the natural rights of his neighbor just as sacred as his own. (Continued applause.) The Roman Republic recognized and protected the *rights of the citizen,* at the same time disregarding and leaving unprotected the *rights of man;* Roman citizenship was founded upon monopoly, not upon the claims of human nature. What the citizen of Rome claimed for himself, he did not respect in others; his own greatness was his only object; his own liberty, as he regarded it, gave him the privilege to oppress his fellow-beings. His democracy, instead of elevating mankind to its own level, trampled the rights of man into the dust. The security

of the Roman Republic, therefore, consisted in the power of the sword; the security of the American Republic rests in the equality of human rights! (Loud applause.) The Roman Republic perished by the sword; the American Republic will stand as long as the equality of human rights remains inviolate. (Cheers.) Which of the two Republics is the greater—the Republic of the Roman, or the Republic of *man?*

Sir, I wish the words of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created free and equal, and are endowed with certain inalienable rights," were inscribed upon every gate-post within the limits of this Republic. From this principle the Revolutionary Fathers derived their claim to independence; upon this they founded the institutions of this country, and the whole structure was to be the living incarnation of this idea. This principle contains the programme of our political existence. It is the most progressive, and at the same time the most conservative one; the most progressive, for it takes even the lowliest members of the human family out of their degradation, and inspires them with the elevating consciousness of equal human dignity; the most conservative, for it makes a common cause of individual rights. (Tumultuous applause.) From the equality of rights springs identity of our highest interests; you cannot subvert your neighbor's rights without striking a dangerous blow at your own. And when the rights of one cannot be infringed without finding a ready defence in all others who defend their own rights in defending his, then, and only then, are the rights of all safe against the usurpations of governmental authority.

This general identity of interests is the only thing

that can guarantee the stability of democratic institutions. Equality of rights, embodied in general self-government, is the great moral element of true democracy; it is the only reliable safety-valve in the machinery of modern society. There is the solid foundation of our system of government; there is our mission; there is our greatness; there is our safety; there, and nowhere else! This is true Americanism, and to this I pay the tribute of my devotion. (Long and loud applause.)

Shall I point out to you the consequences of a deviation from this principle? Look at the Slave States. There is a class of men who are deprived of their natural rights. But this is not the only deplorable feature of that peculiar organization of society. Equally deplorable is it, that there is another class of men who keep the former in subjection. That there are slaves is bad; but almost worse is it, that there are masters. Are not the masters freemen? No, sir! Where is their liberty of the press? Where is their liberty of speech? Where is the man among them who dares to advocate openly principles not in strict accordance with the ruling system? They speak of a republican form of government—they speak of democracy, but the despotic spirit of slavery and mastership combined pervades their whole political life like a liquid poison. They do not dare to be free, lest the spirit of liberty become contagious. The system of slavery has enslaved them all, master as well as slave. (Applause; "true!") What is the cause of all this? It is that you cannot deny one class of society the full measure of their natural rights without imposing restraints upon your own liberty.

If you want to be free, there is but one way; it is to guarantee an equally full measure of liberty to all your neighbors. There is no other.

True, there are difficulties connected with an organization of society founded upon the basis of equal rights. Nobody denies it. A large number of those who come to you from foreign lands are not as capable of taking part in the administration of government as the man who was fortunate enough to drink the milk of liberty in his cradle. And certain religious denominations do, perhaps, nourish principles which are hardly in accordance with the doctrines of true democracy. There is a conglomeration on this continent of heterogeneous elements; there is a warfare of clashing interests and unruly aspirations; and with all this, our democratic system gives rights to the ignorant and power to the inexperienced. And the billows of passion will lash the sides of the ship, and the storm of party warfare will bend its masts, and the pusillanimous will cry out—"Master, master, we perish!" But the genius of true democracy will arise from his slumber, and rebuke the winds and the raging of the water, and say unto them—"Where is your faith?" Aye, where is the faith that led the fathers of this republic to invite the weary and burdened of all nations to the enjoyment of equal rights? Where is that broad and generous confidence in the efficiency of true democratic institutions? Has the present generation forgotten that true democracy bears in itself the remedy for all the difficulties that may grow out of it?

It is an old dodge of the advocates of despotism throughout the world, that the people who are not

experienced in self-government, are not fit for the exercise of self-government, and must first be educated under the rule of a superior authority. But at the same time the advocates of despotism will never offer them an opportunity to acquire experience in self-government, lest they suddenly become fit for its independent exercise. To this treacherous sophistry the fathers of this republic opposed the noble doctrine, that liberty is the best school for liberty, and that self-government cannot be learned but by practising it. (Loud applause.) This, sir, is a truly American idea; this is true Americanism, and to this I pay the tribute of my devotion. (Cheers.)

Oh, sir, there is a wonderful vitality in true democracy, founded upon the equality of rights. There is an inexhaustible power of resistance in that system of government, which makes the protection of individual rights a matter of common interest. If preserved in its purity, there is no warfare of opinions which can endanger it—there is no conspiracy of despotic aspirations that can destroy it. But if not preserved in its purity! There are dangers which only blindness can not see, and which only stubborn party prejudice will not see.

I have already called your attention to the despotic tendency of the slave-holding system. I need not enlarge upon it; I need not describe how the existence of slavery in the South affected and demoralized even the political life of the free States; how they attempted to press us, you and me, into the posse of the slave-catcher by that abominable act, which, worse than the "alien and sedition laws," still disgraces our statute-book; how the ruling party, which has devoted itself

to the service of that despotic interest, shrinks from no violation of good faith, from no adulteration of the constitutional compact, from no encroachment upon natural right, from no treacherous abandonment of fundamental principles. And I do not hesitate to prophesy, that if the theories engendered by the institution of slavery be suffered to outgrow the equalizing tendency of true democracy, the American Republic will, at no distant day, crumble down under the burden of the laws and measures which the ruling interest will demand for its protection, and its name will be added to the sad catalogue of the broken hopes of humanity.

But the mischief does not come from that side alone; it is in things of small beginning, but fearful in their growth. One of these is the propensity of men *to lose sight of fundamental principles, when passing abuses are to be corrected.*

Is it not wonderful how nations who have won their liberty by the severest struggles, become so easily impatient of the small inconveniences and passing difficulties, which are almost inseparably connected with the practical working of general self-government? How they so easily forget that rights may be abused, and yet remain inalienable rights? Europe has witnessed many an attempt for the establishment of democratic institutions; some of them were at first successful, and the people were free, but the abuses and inconveniences connected with liberty became at once apparent. Then the ruling classes of society, in order to get rid of the abuses, restricted liberty; they did, indeed, get rid of the abuses, but they got rid of liberty at the same time. You heard liberal

governments there speak of protecting and regulating the liberty of the press; and, in order to prevent that liberty from being abused, they adopted measures, apparently harmless at first, which ultimately resulted in an absolute censorship. Would it be much better if we, recognizing the right of man to the exercise of self-government, should, in order to protect the purity of the ballot-box, restrict the right of suffrage?

Liberty, sir, is like a spirited housewife; she will have her whims, she will be somewhat unruly sometimes, and, like so many husbands, you cannot always have it all your own way. She may spoil your favorite dish sometimes; but will you, therefore, at once smash her china, break her kettles, and shut her out from the kitchen? Let her practise, let her try again and again, and even when she makes a mistake, encourage her with a benignant smile, and your broth will be right after a while. (Laughter.) But meddle with her concerns, tease her, bore her, and your little squabbles, spirited as she is, will ultimately result in a divorce. What then? It is one of Jefferson's wisest words that "he would much rather be exposed to the inconveniences arising from too much liberty, than to those arising from too small a degree of it." (Immense applause.) It is a matter of historical experience, that nothing that is wrong in principle can be right in practice. (Sensation.) People are apt to delude themselves on that point; but the ultimate result will always prove the truth of the maxim. A violation of equal rights can never serve to maintain institutions which are founded upon equal rights. (Loud applause.) A contrary policy is not only pusillanimous and small, but it is senseless. It reminds me of the soldier who,

for fear of being shot in battle, committed suicide on the march; or of the man who would cut off his foot, because he had a corn on his toe. (Laughter.) It is that ridiculous policy of premature despair, which commences to throw the freight overboard when there is a suspicious cloud in the sky.

Another danger for the safety of our institutions, and perhaps the most formidable one, arises from the general propensity of political parties and public men to act on a policy of mere expediency, and to sacrifice principle to local and temporary success. (Great sensation.) And here, sir, let me address a solemn appeal to the consciences of those with whom I am proud to struggle side by side against human thraldom.

You hate kingcraft, and you would sacrifice your fortunes and your lives in order to prevent its establishment on the soil of this Republic. But let me tell you that the rule of political parties which sacrifice principle to expediency, is no less dangerous, no less disastrous, no less aggressive, of no less despotic a nature, than the rule of monarchs. Do not indulge in the delusion, that in order to make a government fair and liberal, the only thing necessary is to make it elective. When a political party in power, however liberal their principles may be, have once adopted the policy of knocking down their opponents instead of voting them down, there is an end of justice and equal rights. (Applause.) The history of the world shows no example of a more arbitrary despotism, than that exercised by the party which ruled the National Assembly of France in the bloodiest days of the great French Revolution. I will not discuss here what might have been done, and what not, in those times of a fearful crisis; but I will

say that they tried to establish liberty by means of despotism, and that in her gigantic struggle against the united monarchs of Europe, revolutionary France won the victory, but lost her liberty.

Remember the shout of indignation that went all over the Northern States when we heard that the border ruffians of Kansas had crowded the free-state men away from the polls and had not allowed them to vote. That indignation was just, not only because the men who were thus terrorized were free-state men and friends of liberty, but because they were deprived of their right of suffrage, and because the government of that territory was placed on the basis of force, instead of equal rights. Sir, if ever the party of liberty should use their local predominance for the purpose of disarming their opponents instead of convincing them, they will but follow the example set by the ruffians of Kansas, although legislative enactments may be a genteeler weapon than the revolver and bowie knife. (Cheering.) They may perhaps achieve some petty local success, they may gain some small temporary advantage, but they will help to introduce a system of action into our politics which will gradually undermine the very foundations upon which our republican edifice rests. Of all the dangers and difficulties that beset us, there is none more horrible than the hideous monster, whose name is "Proscription for opinion's sake." (Cheers, and cries of "good".) I am an anti-slavery man, and I have a right to my opinion in South Carolina just as well as in Massachusetts. My neighbor is a pro-slavery man; I may be sorry for it, but I solemnly acknowledge his right to his opinion in Massachusetts as well as in South

Carolina. You tell me, that for my opinion they would mob me in South Carolina? Sir, there is the difference between South Carolina and Massachusetts. (Prolonged cheering.) There is the difference between an anti-slavery man, who is a freeman, and a slaveholder, who is himself a slave. (Continued applause.)

Our present issues will pass away. The slavery question will be settled, liberty will be triumphant, and other matters of difference will divide the political parties of this country. What if we, in our struggle against slavery, had removed the solid basis of equal rights, on which such new matters of difference may be peaceably settled? What if we had based the institutions of this country upon a difference of rights between different classes of people? What if, in destroying the generality of natural rights, we had resolved them into privileges? There is a thing which stands above the command of the most ingenious of politicians: *it is the logic of things and events.* It cannot be turned and twisted by artificial arrangements and delusive settlements; it will go its own way with the steady step of fate. It will force you, with uncompromising severity, to choose between two social organizations, one of which is founded upon privilege, and the other upon the doctrine of equal rights.

Force instead of right, privilege instead of equality, expediency instead of principle, being once the leading motives of your policy, you will have no power to stem the current. There will be new abuses to be corrected, new inconveniences to be remedied, new supposed dangers to be obviated, new equally exacting ends to be subserved, and your encroachments upon the natural rights of your opponents now, will be

used as welcome precedents for the mutual oppression of parties then. Having once knowingly disregarded the doctrine of equal rights, the ruling parties will soon accustom themselves to consult only their interests where fundamental principles are at stake. Those who lead us into this channel will be like the sorcerer who knew the art of making a giant snake. And when he had made it, he forgot the charm-word that would destroy it again. And the giant snake threw its horrid coils around him, and the unfortunate man was choked to death by the monster of his own creation.

Sir, I am coming to the close of my remarks. But I cannot refrain from alluding to a circumstance which concerns myself. I understand it has been said, that in speaking a few words on the principles of Jeffersonian democracy a few evenings since, I had attempted to interfere with the home affairs of this State, and to dictate to the Republicans their policy. Ah, sir, is there a man in Massachusetts, except he be a servant of the slave-power, who cannot hear me advocate the equal rights of man, without feeling serious pangs of conscience? (Laughter.) Is there a son of this glorious old commonwealth who cannot hear me draw logical conclusions from the Declaration of Independence—who cannot hear me speak of the natural right of man to the exercise of self-government, without feeling a blush fluttering upon his cheeks? If so, sir, I am sorry for him; it is his fault, not mine. (Loud applause.)

Interfere with your local matters! How could I? What influence could I, an humble stranger among you, exercise on the action of Massachusetts? But

one thing I must tell you. It ought never to be forgotten that this old Commonwealth occupies a representative position. Her history is familiar to the nation; even South Carolina knows it. (Laughter and applause.) The nation is so accustomed to admire her glorious deeds for freedom, that with this expectation their eyes are turned upon her. Massachusetts can do nothing in secret; Massachusetts can do nothing for herself alone; every one of her acts involves a hundred-fold responsibility. What Massachusetts does is felt from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But Massachusetts need only be herself, in order to be great. This is her position among the Free States, recognized by all. Can there be a more honorable one? Sons of Massachusetts, you may be proud of it. Do not forget that from her greatness you cannot separate your responsibility.

No, I will not meddle with your home concerns. I will, however, say a word for the West. Strenuous advocate of individual rights and of local self-government as I am, if you ever hear of any movement in the West against the integrity of the fundamental principles underlying our system of government, I invite you, I entreat you, I conjure you, come one and all, and make our prairies resound and our forests shake, and our ears ring and tingle, with your appeals for the equal rights of man. (Loud and continued cheering.)

Sir, I was to speak on Republicanism in the West, and so I did. This *is* Western republicanism. These are its principles, and I am proud to say its principles are its policy. These are the ideas which have rallied round the banner of liberty not only the natives of the soil, but an innumerable host of Germans, Scan-

dinavians, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, and a goodly number of Irishmen, also. And here I tell you, those are mistaken who believe that the Irish heart is devoid of those noble impulses which will lead him to the side of justice, where he sees his own rights respected and unendangered. (Applause.) Under this banner, all the languages of civilized mankind are spoken, every creed is protected, every right is sacred. There stands every element of Western society, with enthusiasm for a great cause, with confidence in each other, with honor to themselves. This is the banner floating over the glorious valley which stretches from the Western slope of the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains—that valley of Jehoshaphat, where the nations of the world assemble to celebrate the resurrection of human freedom. (Tremendous applause.) The inscription on that banner is not "Opposition to the Democratic party for the sake of placing a new set of men into office;" for this battle cry of speculators our hearts have no response. Nor is it "Restriction of slavery and restriction of the right of suffrage," for this—believe my words, I entreat you—this would be the signal of deserved, inevitable, and disgraceful defeat. But the inscription is "Liberty and equal rights, common to all as the air of Heaven—Liberty and equal rights, one and inseparable!" (Enthusiastic cheers.)

With this banner we stand before the world. In this sign—in this sign alone and no other—there is victory. And thus, sir, we mean to realize the great cosmopolitan idea, upon which the existence of the American nation rests. Thus we mean to fulfill the great mission of true Americanism—thus we mean

to answer the anxious question of down-trodden humanity—"Has *man* the faculty to be free and to govern himself?" The answer is a triumphant "Aye," thundering into the ears of the despots of the old world that "a man is a man for all that"; proclaiming to the oppressed that they are held in subjection on false pretenses; cheering the hearts of the despondent friends of man with consolation and renewed confidence.

This is true Americanism, clasping mankind to its great heart. Under its banner we march; let the world follow. (Loud applause, and three cheers for the champion of freedom in the West.)

LIFE OF HENRY W. GRADY

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Henry Woofden Grady was born at Athens, Georgia, May 17, 1851. He gained his school and college education in Georgia and Virginia. After being graduated from the University of Georgia in 1868 he became a student at the University of Virginia for a part of one year. In 1870 he married Miss Julia King of Athens, Georgia.

At about the same time he entered journalistic work by way of "The Atlanta Constitution." His first articles were letters dealing with the resources and possibilities of Georgia, as seen by him during a tour of the state that he had made for the purpose of gathering material. The accuracy and good sense of these letters, together with the favorable impression that he made during a visit in New York, secured for Grady the position of Georgia correspondent of the New York Herald.

From 1870 to 1880 Mr. Grady was engaged in a number of newspaper publishing ventures, all of which failed financially. In 1880 he bought for $20,000 a quarter interest in "The Atlanta Constitution" and for nine years contributed to the editorial columns and influenced the general policy of that paper.

His articles gained for him a wider field in the magazines and attracted the attention of the general public to his intelligent and sympathetic views on conditions in the South and the future of the negro

race. Very naturally he was in demand as a public speaker. The speech selected for this book astonished even his friends. It was while carrying on this missionary work of reconciliation of the North and the South, that he met his death. He addressed the Merchants Club of Boston on "The Future of the Negro." On his way to keep this engagement during the severe weather of 1889 he caught cold, developed pneumonia, and died on December 23.

Various "libraries of literature" contain some of his speeches. His complete public writings may be found in "Complete Orations and Speeches" edited by E. D. B. Shuter.

THE NEW SOUTH

THE NEW SOUTH

A Speech by Henry W. Grady.

"There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour."

These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill, at Tammany Hall in 1866, true then and truer now, I shall make my text to-night.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, let me express to you my appreciation of the kindness by which I am permitted to address you. I make this abrupt acknowledgment advisedly, for I feel that if, when I raise my provincial voice in this ancient and august presence, I could find courage for no more than the opening sentence, it would be well if in that sentence I had met in a rough sense my obligation as a guest, and had perished, so to speak, with courtesy on my lips and grace in my heart. Permitted, through your kindness, to catch my second wind, let me say that I appreciate the significance of being the first Southerner to speak at this board, which bears the substance, if it surpasses the semblance, of original New England hospitality, and honors the sentiment that in turn honors you, but in which my personality is lost and the compliment to my people made plain.

Pardon me one word, Mr. President, spoken for the sole purpose of getting into the volumes that go out

annually, freighted with the rich eloquence of your speakers, the fact that the Cavalier as well as the Puritan was on the continent in its early days, and that he was "up and able to be about." I have read your books carefully and I find no mention of that fact, which seems an important one to me for preserving a sort of historical equilibrium, if for nothing else.

Let me remind you that the Virginia Cavalier first challenged France on the continent; that Cavalier John Smith gave New England its very name, and was so pleased with the job that he has been handing his own name around ever since; and that while Miles Standish was cutting off men's ears for courting a girl without her parents' consent, and forbade men to kiss their wives on Sunday, the Cavalier was courting everything in sight, and that the Almighty had vouchsafed great increase to the Cavalier Colonies, the huts in the wilderness being as full as the nests in the woods.

But having incorporated the Cavalier as a fact in your charming little books, I shall let him work out his own salvation, as he has always done, with engaging gallantry, and we will hold no controversy as to his merits. Why should we? Neither Puritan nor Cavalier long survived as such. The virtues and good traditions of both happily still live for the inspiration of their sons and the saving of the old fashion. But both Puritan and Cavalier were lost in the storm of the first Revolution, and the American citizen, supplanting both and stronger than either, took possession of the Republic bought by their common blood and fashioned to wisdom, and charged himself

with teaching men government and establishing the voice of the people as the voice of God.

My friends, Doctor Talmage has told you that the typical American has yet to come. Let me tell you that he has already come. Great types, like valuable plants, are slow to flower and fruit. But from the union of these Colonies, Puritans and Cavaliers, from the straightening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through a century, came he who stands as the first typical American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this Republic—Abraham Lincoln.

He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American, and that in his honest form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal government—charging it with such tremendous meaning and elevating it above human suffering that martyrdom, tho infamously aimed, came as a fitting crown to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty. Let us, each cherishing the traditions and honoring his fathers, build with reverend hands to the type of this simple but sublime life, in which all types are honored, and in our common glory as Americans there will be plenty and to spare for your forefathers and for mine.

Doctor Talmage has drawn for you, with a master's hand, the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how, in the pomp and circumstance of war, they came back to you, marching with proud and

victorious tread, reading their glory in a nation's eyes!—Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war—an army that marched home in defeat and not in victory—in pathos and not in splendor, but in glory that equaled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home! Let me picture to you the foot-sore Confederate soldier, as, buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865.

Think of him as, ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds, having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and faithful journey. What does he find—let me ask you who went to your homes eager to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice—what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful?

He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barns empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless, his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status, his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions are gone.

Without money, credit, employment, material, or training, and, besides all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence,—the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.

What does he do—this hero in gray with a heart of gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely God, who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldier stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had charged Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June; women reared in luxury cut up their dresses and made breeches for their husbands, and, with a patience and heroism that fit women always as a garment, gave their hands to work. There was little bitterness in all this. Cheerfulness and frankness prevailed.

I want to say to General Sherman, who is considered an able man in our parts, though some people think he is a kind of careless man about fire, that from the ashes he left us in 1864 we have raised a brave and beautiful city; that somehow or other we have caught the sunshine in the bricks and mortar of our homes, and have builded therein not one ignoble prejudice or memory.

But what is the sum of our work? We have found out that in the summing up the free negro counts more than he did as a slave. We have planted the schoolhouse on the hilltop and made it free to white and black. We have sowed towns and cities in the

place of theories, and put business above politics. We have challenged your spinners in Massachusetts and your iron-makers in Pennsylvania. We have learned that the $400,000,000 annually received from our cotton crop will make us rich when the supplies that make it are home-raised. We have reduced the commercial rate of interest from twenty-four to six per cent, and are floating four per cent bonds.

We have learned that one Northern immigrant is worth fifty foreigners; and have smoothed the path to southward, wiped out the place where Mason and Dixon's line used to be, and hung out our latch-string to you and yours. We have reached the point that marks perfect harmony in every household, when the husband confesses that the pies which his wife cooks are as good as those his mother used to bake; and we admit that the sun shines as brightly and the moon as softly as it did before the war. We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with our work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed. We have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crabgrass which sprung from Sherman's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee as he manufactures relics of the battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive-oil out of his cottonseed, against any Down-Easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausage in the valleys of Vermont. Above all, we know that we have achieved in these "piping times of peace" a fuller independence for the South than that which our fathers sought to win

in the forum by their eloquence or compel in the field by their swords.

It is a rare privilege, sir, to have had part, however humble, in this work. Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South—misguided, perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave, and generous always. In the record of her social, industrial, and political illustration we await with confidence the verdict of the world.

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents or progressed in honor and equity toward solution? Let the record speak to the point. No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South; none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. Self-interest as well as honor demand that he should have this. Our future, our very existence, depend upon working out this problem in full and exact justice.

We understand that when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, your victory was assured, for he then committed you to the cause of human liberty, against which the arms of men can not prevail—while those of our statesmen who trusted to make slavery the cornerstone of the Confederacy doomed us to defeat as far as they could, committing us to a cause that reason could not defend or the sword maintain in sight of advancing civilization.

Had Mr. Toombs said, which he did not say, " that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker

Hill," he would have been foolish, for he might have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended for ever in New England when your fathers —not to be blamed for parting with what did not pay—sold their slaves to our fathers—not to be praised for knowing a paying thing when they saw it.

The relations of the Southern people with the negro are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion.

Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people. To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. It must be left to those among whom his lot is cast, with whom he is indissolubly connected, and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him, in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary by those who assume to speak for us or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with

him in the future, if the South holds her reason and integrity.

But have we kept faith with you? In the fullest sense, yes. When Lee surrendered—I do not say when Johnston surrendered, because I understand he still alludes to the time when he met General Sherman last as the time when he determined to abandon any further prosecution of the struggle—when Lee surrendered, I say, and Johnston quit, the South became, and has since been, loyal to this Union.

We fought hard enough to know that we were whipped and in perfect frankness accept as final the arbitrament of the sword to which we had appealed. The South found her jewel in the toad's head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell for ever when the shackles of the negro slave were broken. Under the old règime the negroes were slaves to the South; the South was a slave to the system. The old plantation, with its simple police regulations and feudal habit, was the only type possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalric oligarchy the substance that should have been diffused among the people, as the rich blood, under certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture, but leaving the body chill and colorless.

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement—a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but

stronger at the core—a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace—and a diversified industry that meets the complex need of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.

This is said in no spirit of time-serving or apology. The South has nothing for which to apologize. She believes that the late struggle between the States was war and not rebellion, revolution and not conspiracy, and that her convictions were as honest as yours. I should be unjust to the dauntless spirit of the South and to my own convictions if I did not make this plain in this presence. The South has nothing to take back. In my native town of Athens is a monument that crowns its central hill—a plain, white shaft. Deep cut into its shining side is a name dear to me above the names of men—that of a brave and simple man who died in a brave and simple faith.

Not for all the glories of New England, from Plymouth Rock all the way, would I exchange the heritage he left me in his soldier's death. To the foot of that I shall send my children's children to reverence him who ennobled their name with his

heroic blood. But, sir, speaking from the shadow of that memory which I honor as I do nothing else on earth, I say that the cause in which he suffered and for which he gave his life was adjudged by higher and fuller wisdom than his or mine, and I am glad that the omniscient God held the balance of battle in His Almighty hand and that human slavery was swept for ever from American soil, and the American Union was saved from the wreck of war.

This message, Mr. President, comes to you from consecrated ground. Every foot of soil about the city in which I live is as sacred as a battle-ground of the Republic. Every hill that invests it is hallowed to you by the blood of your brothers who died for your victory, and doubly hallowed to us by the blood of those who died hopeless, but undaunted in defeat—sacred soil to all of us—rich with memories that make us purer and stronger and better—silent but stanch witnesses, in its red desolation, of the matchless valor of American hearts and the deathless glory of American arms—speaking an eloquent witness in its white peace and prosperity to the indissoluble union of American States and the imperishable brotherhood of the American people.

Now, what answer has New England to this message? Will she permit the prejudice of war to remain in the hearts of the conquerors when it has died in the hearts of the conquered? Will she transmit this prejudice to the next generation, that in their hearts which never felt the generous ardor of conflict it may perpetuate itself? Will she withhold, save in strained courtesy, the hand which, straight from his soldier's heart, Grant offered to Lee at Appomattox? Will

she make the vision of a restored and happy people, which gathered above the couch of your dying captain, filling his heart with grace, touching his lips with praise, and glorifying his path to the grave—will she make this vision on which the last sigh of his expiring soul breathed a benediction, a cheat and delusion? If she does, the South, never abject in asking for comradeship, must accept with dignity its refusal; but if she does not refuse to accept in frankness and sincerity this message of good will and friendship, then will the prophecy of Webster, delivered in this very Society forty years ago amid tremendous applause, become true, be verified in its fullest sense, when he said: "Standing hand to hand and clasping hands, we should remain united as we have been for sixty years, citizens of the same country, members of the same government, united, all united now and united forever." There have been difficulties, contentions, and controversies, but I tell you that in my judgment—

——" those opened eyes,
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
All of one nature, of one substance bred,
Did lately meet in th' intestine shock,
Shall now, in mutual well-beseeming ranks,
March all one way."

LIFE OF JOHN HAY

LIFE OF JOHN HAY

The great honors that were paid to John Hay when he died in 1905, were tributes to one who had loved his fellowmen and done much to promote international friendliness. For our own country he had won recognition as a world power by putting into practice the doctrine of "magnanimity" that Burke had advocated in the previous century. In so doing he had elevated the whole spirit of the world powers. Therefore, the mourning at his death was not confined to the United States but had voice throughout the world.

John Hay earned this world-wide regard by the activities of the last six years of his life. For the work of these few years, however, his whole previous life was a preparation.

From Scotch and English ancestors he inherited a devotion to principle and a love of humanity that was illustrated by his grandfather when he moved from Virginia to Indiana because he did not approve of slave holding. John Hay's father, a conscientious physician, established himself in Salem, Indiana, where the son was born on October 8, 1838. The boy was "sent East" to college and was graduated with honors from Brown University in 1858. He studied law with an uncle, Malcolm Hay, in Springfield, Ill. Here he made the acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln and so favorably impressed that self-made lawyer that he had the good fortune to enter Lincoln's office.

In 1861 he accompanied President Lincoln to Washington as assistant secretary. For four years he lived in the closest intimacy with Lincoln; indeed their relations were almost those of father and son.* As Assistant Adjutant General (with rank of Colonel) he frequently represented the President at the front during the war. He was at Lincoln's bedside during the last hours of his chieftain's life.

From 1865 to 1870 he served as Secretary of the Legation in Paris, in Vienna, and in Madrid. His keen observation of the politics of France, Austria, and Spain and the personal friends that he made, helped him in later years when he became chief of our diplomatic service.

From 1870 to 1874 he was editorial writer on the "New York Tribune" under Horace Greeley at a salary of $5,000 a year. Greeley thought highly of him and said of one of Hay's articles that "it is the finest editorial I have ever read." To this period belong his literary publications. "Jim Bludso" and "Little Breeches" had, however, been written during his college days. "Pike County Ballads" and "Castilian Days" attracted favorable comment then, but were later an embarrassment to their author.

In 1874 Hay married Clara L. Stone of Cleveland, Ohio, and moved to that city. His own abundant income from his contributions to periodicals and his wife's large fortune, enabled him to live a life of quiet study and literary activity. In 1881 he and Nicolay published their work of fifteen years, "Abraham

* For a full account of those years, see "Life in the White House in the Time of Lincoln" in "Addresses of John Hay," and "Abraham Lincoln: a History" by Nicolay and Hay.

Lincoln: A History," the best biography of that statesman that has been written. They also edited "Lincoln's Complete Works." Although these were labors of love, yet they brought to the authors large financial returns; for The Century Company paid $50,000 for only a few selections from "Abraham Lincoln" for periodical publication. A novel entitled "Bread Winners," published anonymously in 1893, is almost positively attributed to John Hay.

He was Assistant Secretary of State for two years under President Hayes. In 1897 he went to London as American Ambassador under President McKinley. Here he renewed old acquaintance and gained a fresh view of European politics. So highly was he esteemed by the English that when the Powers invited the Prime Minister to join them in a joint demonstration against the United States off the coast of Cuba, the Prime Minister replied, "Yes, I was thinking of a demonstration, but *with* the United States." There was no joint demonstration.

In 1898 his public life culminated in the position of Secretary of State. The few criticisms of President McKinley's choice were soon quieted by the efficiency of Secretary Hay Appreciating the necessity for a supporting public opinion and understanding the nature of newspaper men and their work, he took the correspondents into his confidence. Seldom was it violated, and never did his frankness work harm to state affairs. He negotiated over fifty treaties and cleared up several long standing subjects of dispute, the most notable of which were the Alaskan Boundary Question and the Northern Atlantic Fisheries Question. The Panama Canal of to-day is possible because of

the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty and because of Secretary Hay's masterly handling of the Colombian-Panama affair in 1903.

His fame rests specifically on three achievements. First, he won the recognition of the United States as a world power. The work begun by Admiral Dewey at Manila and advanced by the successful termination of the Spanish-American War, was completed by Secretary Hay's "new diplomacy." This consisted simply in telling the truth and stating plainly what the United States desired—a simple procedure, yet extremely disconcerting to European diplomacy. His second great accomplishment places him on the world's roll of fame; for the Republic of China owes its opportunity for inception to John Hay's magnanimous policy during the Boxer uprising of 1900. When the Allies were debating whether to support the Chinese government or not, General Chaffee, acting under orders from the State Department, began his march on Peking—whereupon the Allies followed. When Secretary Hay protested in a joint note to the Powers against the partition of China, all heeded except Russia, and that country was punished soon after by Japan. When the powers wished to demand enormous indemnity from China, John Hay protested so effectively that the affair was settled on very moderate terms.*

The third great matter in which he was concerned was the support of The Hague Tribunal. After that

* It was the remission of about half of this indemnity by the United States and its subsequent use by China to educate hundreds of her young men in our country, that led to the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912.

court had been established, while the world doubted its success, Secretary Hay sent the first two cases to it. On May 22, 1902, the United States and Mexico submitted the Pious Fund dispute concerning church lands in California to The Hague Tribunal, and shortly after the United States through the Secretary of State persuaded Venezuela to submit her complaints against the forcible collection of claims by England, Germany, and Italy to the same Tribunal instead of to President Roosevelt. Other nations followed in appealing to arbitration, thereby assuring the success of this great advance in civilization.*

In the summer of 1905 Mr. Hay went abroad for his health. His apparent improvement only served to make the news of his death a greater shock. Soon after his return home, on July 1, he died at his summer residence on Lake Sunapee, New Hampshire. The funeral services in Cleveland, on July 5, were attended by the President and all the Cabinet except Secretary Taft, who was abroad. Memorial services were held throughout the country and even in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, an honor seldom accorded a foreigner.

One has only to look at a portrait of John Hay to see that he was a refined, cultured gentleman. His fastidiousness, his loyalty, and his grim determination sometimes made mean men uncomfortable in his presence. No official was more accessible, however, to those who had genuine business with him. In fact, as Ambassador to England he often exercised a

* Full information concerning the history and the work of "The Hague Tribunal" can be obtained, much of it gratis, from the American Peace Society, 313 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

forbearance with bores that must have sorely tried his diplomacy. He was unassuming and modest in the extreme. In Cabinet meetings he was an authority on international matters but seldom discussed other affairs. His dry humor met appreciation among those who knew him well. He did not enjoy speech making, but always prepared himself carefully and acquitted himself well. A strong sense of duty was the predominant trait of his character. Only this could have induced him to leave a quiet life to take up the exacting work of Secretary of State. The two greatest influences in his life were the personality of Abraham Lincoln and the teaching of the Golden Rule.

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AMERICA'S LOVE OF PEACE

AMERICA'S LOVE OF PEACE*

An Address by the Hon. John Hay

I esteem it a great honor and privilege to be allowed to extend to you the welcome of the Government and the people of the United States of America on this memorable and auspicious occasion. No time could be more fitting for this gathering of a parliament of peace than to-day, when at the other end of the world the thunder of a destructive and sanguinary war is deafening the nations, while here we are preparing to settle the question of a vast transfer of power by an appeal to reason and orderly procedure, under the sanction of a law implicitly accepted by eighty millions of people.

And as if heaven had decided to give a sign of deepest significance to the hour of your meeting, it coincides with the commitment to eternal peace of all that was mortal of our dear and honored co-laborer in this sacred cause. George Frisbie Hoar had many titles to glory and honor. Not the least of them was the firm and constant courage with which, through all his illustrious life, he pleaded for humanity and universal good will.

No place could be more suitable than this high-hearted city, which has been for nearly three hundred

* Reprinted from "Addresses of John Hay" by special permission of The Century Company.

years the birthplace and the home of every idea of progress and enlightenment which has germinated in the Western World. To bid you welcome to the home of Vane, of Winthrop, and of Adams, of Channing and Emerson, is to give you the freedom of no mean city, to make you partakers of a spiritual inheritance without which, with all our opulence, we should be poor indeed. It is true that this great Commonwealth has sought, with the sword, peace under liberty. We confess that many wars have left their traces in the pages of its history and its literature; art has adorned the public places of this stately town with the statues of its heroic sons. But the dominant note of its highest culture, its most persistent spirit, has been that righteousness which exalteth a nation, that obedience to the inner light which leads along the paths of peace.

And the policy of the nation at large, which owes so much of its civic spirit to the founders of New England, has been in the main a policy of peace. During the hundred and twenty years of our independent existence we have had but three wars with the outside world, though we have had a most grievous and dolorous struggle with our own people. We have had, I think, a greater relative immunity from war than any of our neighbors. All our greatest men have been earnest advocates of peace. The very men who founded our liberties with the mailed hand detested and abhorred war as the most futile and ferocious of human follies.

Franklin and Jefferson repeatedly denounced it—the one with all the energy of his rhetoric, the other with the lambent fire of his wit. But not our philos-

ophers alone—our fighting men have seen at close quarters how hideous is the face of war. Washington said, "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth"; and again he said, "We have experienced enough of its evils in this country to know that it should not be wantonly or unnecessarily entered upon." There is no discordant note in the utterances of our most eminent soldiers on this subject. The most famous utterance of General Grant—the one which will linger longest in the memories of men—was the prayer of his war-weary heart, "Let us have peace." Sherman reached the acme of his marvelous gift of epigram when he said, "War is hell." And Abraham Lincoln, after the four terrible years in which he had directed our vast armies and navies, uttered on the threshold of eternity the fervent and touching aspiration that "the mighty scourge of war might speedily pass away."

There has been no solution of continuity in the sentiments of our Presidents on this subject up to this day. McKinley deplored with every pulse of his honest and kindly heart the advent of the war which he had hoped might not come in his day, and gladly hailed the earliest moment for making peace; and President Roosevelt has the same tireless energy in the work of concord that he displayed when he sought peace and ensured it on the field of battle. No Presidents in our history have been so faithful and so efficient as the last two in the cause of arbitration and of every peaceful settlement of differences. I mention them together because their work has been harmonious and consistent. We hailed with joy the generous initiative of the Russian Emperor, and

sent to the conference at The Hague the best men we had in our civic and military life. When The Hague Court lay apparently wrecked at the beginning of its voyage, threatened with death before it had fairly begun to live, it was the American Government which gave it the breath of life by inviting the Republic of Mexico to share our appeal to its jurisdiction; and the second case brought before it was at the instance of Mr. Roosevelt, who declined in its favor the high honor of arbitrating an affair of world-wide importance.

I beg you to believe, it is not by way of boasting that I recall these incidents to your minds; it is rather as a profession of faith in a cause which the present Administration has deeply at heart that I ask you to remember, in the deliberations upon which you are entering, the course to which the American Government is pledged and which it has steadily pursued for the last seven years. It is true that in those years we have had a hundred days of war—but they put an end forever to bloodshed which had lasted a generation. We landed a few platoons of marines on the Isthmus last year; but that act closed without a shot a sanguinary succession of trivial wars. We marched a little army to Peking; but it was to save not only the beleaguered legations, but a great imperiled civilization. By mingled gentleness and energy, to which most of the world beyond our borders has done justice, we have given to the Philippines, if not peace, at least a nearer approach to it than they have had within the memory of men.

If our example is worth anything to the world, we have given it in the vital matter of disarmament. We

have brought away from the Far East 55,000 soldiers whose work was done, and have sent them back to the fields of peaceful activity. We have reduced our army to its minimum of 60,000 men; in fact, we may say we have no army, but in place of one a nucleus for drill and discipline. We have three-fourths of one soldier for every thousand of the population—a proportion which if adopted by other powers would at once eliminate wars and rumors of wars from the daily thoughts of the chancelleries of the world.

But fixed as our tradition is, clear as is our purpose in the direction of peace, no country is permanently immune to war so long as the desire and the practice of peace are not universal. If we quote Washington as an advocate of peace, it is but fair also to quote him where he says: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." And at another time he said: "To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression." To acknowledge the existence of an evil is not to support or approve it; but the facts must be faced. Human history is one long desolate story of bloodshed. All the arts unite in the apparent conspiracy to give precedence to the glory of arms. Demosthenes and Pericles adjured the Athenians by the memory of their battles. Horace boasted that he had been a soldier, non sine gloria. Even Milton, in that sublime sonnet where he said: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," mentioned among the godly trophies of Cromwell "Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbrued."

In almost every sermon and hymn we hear in our churches the imagery of war and battle is used. We are charged to fight the good fight of faith; we are to sail through bloody seas to win the prize. The Christian soldier is constantly marshaled to war. Not only in our habits and customs, but in our daily speech and in our inmost thoughts we are beset by the obsession of conflict and mutual destruction. It is like the law of sin in the members to which the greatest of the Apostles refers: "Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?"

I am speaking to those who recognize the lamentable state of things, and who yet do not accept it, or submit to it, and who hope that through the shadow of this night we shall sweep into a younger day. How is this great deliverance to be accomplished?

We have all recently read that wonderful sermon on war by Count Tolstoi, in which a spirit of marvelous lucidity and fire absolutely detached from geographical or political conditions, speaks the Word as it has been given him to speak it, and as no other living man could have done. As you read, with an aching heart, his terrible arraignment of war, feeling that as a man you are partly responsible for all human atrocities, you wait with impatience for the remedy he shall propose, and you find it is—Religion. Yes, that is the remedy. If all would do right, nobody would do wrong—nothing is plainer. It is a counsel of perfection, satisfactory to prophets and saints, to be reached in God's good time. But you are here to consult together to see whether the generation now alive may not do something to hasten the coming of the acceptable day, the appearance on earth of the

beatific vision. If we can not at once make peace and good will the universal rule and practice of nations, what can we do to approximate this condition? What measures can we now take which may lead us at least a little distance toward the wished-for goal?

I have not come to advise you; I have no such ambitious pretensions. I do not even aspire to take part in your deliberations. But I am authorized to assure you that the American Government extends to you a cordial and sympathetic welcome, and shares to the utmost the spirit and purpose in which you have met. The President, so long as he remains in power, has no thought of departing from the traditions bequeathed us by the great soldiers and statesmen of our early history, which have been strictly followed during the last seven years. We shall continue to advocate and to carry into effect, as far as practicable, the principle of the arbitration of such questions as may not be settled through diplomatic negotiations. We have already done much in this direction; we shall hope to do much more. The President is now considering the negotiation of treaties of arbitration with such of the European powers as desire them, and hopes to lay them before the Senate next winter. And, finally, the President has only a few days ago promised, in response to the request of the Interparliamentary Union, to invite the nations to a second conference at The Hague to continue the beneficent work of the Conference of 1899.

Unhappily we can not foresee in the immediate future the cessation of wars upon the earth. We ought therefore to labor constantly for the mitigation of the horrors of war, especially to do what we can to lessen

the sufferings of those who have no part in the struggle. This has been one of the most warmly cherished wishes of the last two Administrations. I make no apology for reading you a paragraph from the message which President Roosevelt sent to Congress last December:

"There seems good ground for the belief that there has been a real growth among the civilized nations of a sentiment which will permit a gradual substitution of other methods than the method of war in the settlement of disputes. It is not pretended that as yet we are near a position in which it will be possible wholly to prevent war, or that a just regard for national interest and honor will in all cases permit of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; but by a mixture of prudence and firmness with wisdom we think it is possible to do away with much of the provocation and excuse for war, and at least in many cases to substitute some other and more rational methods for the settlement of disputes. The Hague Court offers so good an example of what can be done in the direction of such settlement that it should be encouraged in every way."

Further steps should be taken. In President McKinley's annual message of December 5, 1898, he made the following recommendation:

"The experiences of the last year bring forcibly home to us a sense of the burdens and the waste of war. We desire, in common with most civilized nations, to reduce to the lowest possible point the damage sustained in time of war by peaceable trade and commerce. It is true we may suffer in such cases less than other communities, but all nations are damaged more or less by the state of uneasiness and appre-

hension into which an outbreak of hostilities throws the entire commercial world. It should be our object, therefore, to minimize, so far as practicable, this inevitable loss and disturbance. This purpose can probably best be accomplished by an international agreement to regard all private property at sea as exempt from capture or destruction by the forces of belligerent powers. The United States Government has for many years advocated this humane and beneficent principle, and is now in a position to recommend it to other powers without the imputation of selfish motives. I therefore suggest for your consideration that the Executive be authorized to correspond with the governments of the principal maritime powers with a view of incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerent powers."

The President urged this beneficent scheme with an earnestness which gained the willing attention of Congress, already predisposed to it in spirit, and on the 28th of April of this year he was able to approve a joint resolution of both Houses recommending that the "President endeavor to bring about an understanding among the principal maritime powers with a view of incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerents."

It has not been thought advisable by the President during the past summer to call the attention of the powers to a project which would necessarily be regarded by two of them, and possibly by others, with reference

to its bearing upon the deplorable conflict now raging in the Far East. But as we earnestly pray that the return of peace may not be long delayed between the two nations, to both of which we are bound by so many historic ties, we may confidently look forward at no distant day to inviting the attention of the nations to this matter, and we hope we may have the powerful influence of this great organization in gaining their adherence.

The time allotted to me is at an end. I can only bid you Godspeed in your work. The task you have set yourselves, the purpose to which you are devoted, have won the praise of earth and the blessing of Heaven since the morning of time. The noblest of all the beatitudes is the consecration promised the peacemakers. Even if in our time we may not win the wreath of olive; even if we may not hear the golden clamor of the trumpets celebrating the reign of universal and enduring peace, it is something to have desired it, to have worked for it in the measure of our forces. And if you now reap no visible guerdon of your labors the peace of God that passes understanding will be your all-sufficient reward.

CAREER OF ELIHU ROOT

CAREER OF ELIHU ROOT

When Senator Root was asked to supply information about his life he replied with characteristic modesty that "Who's Who" contains everything that is of importance. One glance at the formidable list of achievements there set down, challenges the reader's interest and arouses a desire for the details that will explain these successes.

Elihu Root was born on February 15, 1845. His father was Oren Root, Professor of Mathematics in Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. The son also possesses great mathematical ability. This he first employed to earn money for his law course by teaching in Rome Academy, Rome, N. Y. From boyhood Elihu Root's ambition was "to be a lawyer in New York City." So, after being graduated in 1864 from Hamilton College, he studied law at New York University and was admitted to the Bar in 1867.

Without powerful friends and influence he made his way in the crowded legal profession of New York City. He had confidence in his knowledge of law and in his reasoning powers, that enabled him to meet the greatest lawyers of the day, to fight his cases against them with calmness and witty repartee, and to command by the time he was fifty years old an income of over $200,000 a year.

From 1883 to 1885 he was United States District Attorney at New York City by appointment of Presi-

dent Arthur. In 1899 he gave up his lucrative law practice to become Secretary of War under President McKinley. Early in 1904 he returned "to be a lawyer in New York City," only to sacrifice his personal interests again in 1905 when, on the death of John Hay, he took up the duties of Secretary of State under President Roosevelt. From this office he resigned on January 27, 1909, to become United States Senator from New York for the term expiring in 1915.

He has also served our government in special cases. In 1903 he was a member of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, which met in London and settled that long-standing dispute largely in favor of the United States. In 1910 he was counsel for the United States in the Northern Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration. He is a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and President of the New York State Bar Association.

On January 8, 1878, he married Miss Clara Wales of New York. He has one daughter and two sons. In addition to his New York and Washington residences he has for his summer home a large farm at Clinton, N. Y. Here at Hamilton College he has erected a memorial hall in honor of his father.

His published writings, aside from several state documents such as the Constitution of Cuba and the provisional rules for governing the Philippines, are as follows: "Causes of War" and "Sanction of International Law" (gratis from the American Association for International Conciliation, Station 84, New York City); "The Citizen's Part in Government" (Scribner's); "How to Preserve the Local Self Government

of the States" (Brentano's); "Individual Effort in Trade Expansion" (American Academy of Social and Political Science, Station B, Philadelphia); and "Speeches Incident to the Visit of Secretary Root to South America" (Supt. of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

A former president of the United States once said, "Elihu Root is the ablest man I have known in our government service." This ability was first shown in his work as Secretary of War. His task in 1899 was particularly difficult; for the Spanish-American War had revealed the inefficiency of our army organization, there were bitter jealousies and quarrels among officials in the War Department, and the insurrection in the Philippines was proving a serious affair. Before noon of his first day in office Secretary Root had restored outward peace among his subordinates and had shown that he was to be master, by the simple act of taking Adjutant General Corbin as guide and calling on Major General Miles, whose authority had been ignored by the former Secretary and by General Corbin, and later visiting in their offices all of the Chiefs of Bureaus. Then he was free to proceed to his first duty, which he said was "to wind up the insurrection in the Philippines in the shortest time." Within two weeks he secured the President's approval of his plan to raise ten volunteer reg ments, and within four months he had hese fresh troops at the service of General Otis. Finally he systematized the work of his department and inaugurated the General Staff as the directing body of the army, the greatest improvement in a hundred years in the organization of the army.

The work of Secretary of State was not entirely new

to Mr. Root when he succeeded to that office; for on occasions when Mr. Hay was sick, the Secretary of War had carried on the work of the State Department. Secretary Root at once increased the efficiency of the department by systematizing its work. One of his greatest services to the country came from his South American trip, during which voyage he delivered addresses at most of the principal seaport cities of South America. In Brazil his task was not difficult, for this country has always been friendly to the United States; but in the Spanish-American countries farther south his diplomatic skill met a severer test. At Montevideo he tactfully removed from the minds of the people the idea that the United States had permanently injured Spain. He made it clear that all countries can profit commercially without being bound together politically, and showed especially that ties can better be strengthened between the United States and Latin America when there is no mother country in Europe to be embarrassed by the Monroe Doctrine. Genuine favor arose when he opposed the collection of national debts by force and preached the doctrine of mutual helpfulness and regard for international reputation. Events since 1906 have shown the wisdom of Secretary Root's neighborly visit, and the future will doubtless increase the nation's regard for the foresight and skill of its first official visitor.

Mr. Root has a keen, analytical mind that goes to the bottom of problems and reaches sound conclusions. Like Edison, he is oblivious to the passing of time when he is at work. He is always calm and self-controlled. When Congress refused to pass certain bills advocated by the Secretary of War, he simply

blamed himself and set about preparing his case in a better way. He is reserved, yet capable of deep emotions. For McKinley he felt the strong love that was aroused among most associates of that President. Elihu Root appreciates men for what they do; he stimulates them to their best; and, if he fails to win their affection, he always commands their admiration.

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THE PAN-AMERICAN SPIRIT

THE PAN-AMERICAN SPIRIT*

An Address by the Hon. Elihu Root

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Third Conference of American Republics:

I beg you to believe that I highly appreciate and thank you for the honor you do me.

I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sisters in the civilization of America.

Unlike as we are in many respects, we are alike in this—that we are all engaged, under new conditions, and free from the traditional forms and limitations of the Old World, in working out the same problem of popular self-government.

It is a difficult and laborious task for each of us. Not in one generation nor in one century can the effective control of a superior sovereign, so long deemed necessary to government, be rejected, and effective self-control by the governed be perfected in its place. The first fruits of democracy are many of them crude and unlovely; its mistakes are many, its partial failures many, its sins not few. Capacity for self-government does not come to man by nature. It is an art to be learned, and it is also an expression of character to be developed among all the thousands of men who exercise popular sovereignty.

* Reprinted from "The Outlook" of Oct. 20, 1906, by special permission of the Editors of "The Outlook" and with the approval of Senator Root.

To reach the goal toward which we are pressing forward, the governing multitudes must first acquire knowledge that comes from universal education, wisdom that follows practical experience, personal independence and self-respect befitting men who acknowledge no superior, self-control to replace that external control which a democracy rejects, respect for law, obedience to the lawful expressions of the public will, consideration for the opinions and interests of others equally entitled to a voice in the State, loyalty to that abstract conception—one's country—as inspiring as that loyalty to personal sovereigns which has so illumined the pages of history, subordination of personal interests to the public good, love of justice and mercy, of liberty and order. All these we must seek with slow and patient effort; and of how many shortcomings in his own land and among his own people each one of us is conscious.

Yet no student of our times can fail to see that not America alone, but the whole civilized world, is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel, whithersoever it leads. Upon the success of this our undertaking the hope of humanity depends.

Nor can we fail to see that the world makes substantial progress toward more perfect popular self-government.

I believe it to be true that, viewed against the background of conditions a century, a generation, a decade ago, government in my own country has advanced, in the intelligent participation of the great mass of

the people, in the fidelity and honesty with which they are represented, in respect for law, in obedience to the dictates of a sound morality, and in effectiveness and purity of administration.

Nowhere in the world has this progress been more marked than in Latin America. Out of the wrack of Indian fighting and race conflicts and civil wars, strong and stable governments have arisen. Peaceful succession in accord with the people's will has replaced the forcible seizure of power permitted by the people's indifference. Loyalty to country, its peace, its dignity, its honor, has risen above partisanship for individual leaders. The rule of law supersedes the rule of man. Property is protected and the fruits of enterprise are secure. Individual liberty is respected. Continuous public policies are followed; national faith is held sacred. Progress has not been equal everywhere, but there has been progress everywhere. The movement in the right direction is general. The right tendency is not exceptional; it is continental. The present affords just cause for satisfaction; the future is bright with hope.

It is not by national isolation that these results have been accomplished or that this progress can be continued. No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men; intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of others' judg-

ment, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community the desire for whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—these are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

To promote this mutual interchange and assistance between the American Republics, engaged in the same great task, inspired by the same purpose, and professing the same principles, I understand to be the function of the American Conference now in session. There is not one of all our countries that cannot benefit the others; there is not one that cannot receive benefit from the others; there is not one that will not gain by the prosperity, the peace, the happiness of all.

According to your programme, no great and impressive single thing is to be done by you; no political questions are to be discussed; no controversies are to be settled; no judgment is to be passed upon the conduct of any State; but many subjects are to be considered, which afford the possibility of removing barriers to intercourse, of ascertaining for the common benefit what advances have been made by each nation in knowledge, in experience, in enterprise, in the solution of difficult questions of government, and in ethical standards, of perfecting our knowledge of each other, and of doing away with the misconceptions, the misunderstandings, and the resultant prejudices that are such fruitful sources of controversy.

And there are some subjects in the programme which invite discussion that may lead the American Republics toward agreement upon principles, the general practical application of which can come only in the future through long and patient effort. Some advance at least may be made here toward the complete rule of justice and peace among nations in lieu of force and war.

The association of so many eminent men from all the Republics, leaders of opinion in their own homes, the friendships that will arise among you, the habit of temperate and kindly discussion of matters of common interest, the ascertainment of common sympathies and aims, the dissipation of misunderstandings, the exhibition to all the American peoples of this peaceful and considerate method of conferring upon international questions—this alone, quite irrespective of the resolutions you may adopt and the conventions you may sign, will mark a substantial advance in the direction of international good understanding.

These beneficent results the Government and the people of the United States of America greatly desire. We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American

Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom and in spirit; but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Within a few months, for the first time, the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents can be, and I hope will be, represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign States in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid one another in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help one another to show that for all the races of men the Liberty for which we have fought and labored is the sister of Justice and Peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all.

Not in a single conference, nor by a single effort, can very much be done. You labor more for the future than for the present; but if the right impulse be given, if the right tendency be established, the work you do here will go on among all the millions of people in the American continents long after your final adjournment, long after your lives, with incalculable benefit to all our beloved countries, which may it please God to continue free and independent and happy for ages to come.

NOTES

NOTES

The numerals in bold-faced type indicate pages and lines.

TRUE AMERICANISM

11-1. Schurz's note on the occasion of the speech, April 30, 1859, in Faneuil Hall. "The speaker had been invited to Boston to participate in a public dinner on the anniversary of Jefferson's birthday. Several prominent gentlemen of Massachusetts arranged for him a public reception in Faneuil Hall, which took place a few days after the Jefferson dinner, Hon. Henry Wilson, U. S. S., presiding. The speech was made in response to the introduction by Senator Wilson. The line of argument pursued in the speech was not without special object. The Legislature of Massachusetts had adopted an amendment to the Constitution of the State, by which foreigners should not be permitted to vote until two years after they had become citizens of the United States. This amendment, generally known as the two-years'-amendment, was to be voted on by the people. It was one of the measures brought forth by the so-called know-nothing or American movement, which for a few years had been sweeping all over the United States. It was against this spirit of proscription for the sake of birth, creed, or opinion, styling itself Americanism, that the speaker directed his arguments."

11-8. Cf. Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration, paragraphs 7 and 8.

12–29. "Reminiscences of Carl Schurz," Vol. I, gives this scene in detail.

13–13. Uprisings in Germany in 1848. See Life of Carl Schurz in this text or, better still, "Reminiscences of Carl Schurz," Vol. I.

15–13. The use of cannon at the battle of Crecy, 1346, rendered the customary coat of mail obsolete.

17–15. The speaker's purpose is becoming evident—to show that a country settled by so many nationalities ought not to discriminate against foreigners, as Massachusetts contemplated doing.

17–33. Instances should be cited, as the Norman invasion of England. Let the student recall examples from history.

19–26. Schurz is not often epigrammatic, as here.

21–15. Hamlet's words to his mother when he reproached her for marrying her former husband's brother. Cf. Hamlet, III., 4–53.

25–2. Look up Macaulay's striking paragraph in his Essay on Milton, par. 71. One sentence reads, "There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom." Contrast Burke's statement in "Conciliation" that slavery in the southern colonies makes the masters love liberty the more. The apparent contradiction can be dissolved by showing that Schurz's and Macaulay's idea of liberty was broader than that mentioned in this particular case by Burke. Consider affairs in China, especially during the winter of 1912.

25–7. How can you reconcile these principles and the policy of education before self-government is granted, which the United States pursued with Cuba and the Philippines? Consider the relative civilization of the different peoples involved.

25–31. See some good United States History for an account of the Fugitive Slave Law.

26–6. Schurz must have realized the alternative of war.

26–30. Cf. French Revolution of 1792.

28–10. Burke's doctrine of expediency was of a different nature. He sacrificed no principles.

28–18. Very naturally Schurz left the Republican ranks and about 1870 became an independent in politics.

29–18. A reference to the Constitutional Amendment explained in Note 1.

30–8. An interesting prophecy. Only his faith in the power of right could make him speak so surely.

31–9. Cf. Mrs. Shelley's "Frankenstein."

33–28. Cf. "In hoc signo vinci," ancient motto of Romans.

THE NEW SOUTH

41–1. "The New South" was delivered as an after-dinner speech on December 12, 1886, in New York City at the annual meeting of the New England Society. Of his feelings at the time Mr. Grady afterward said, "When I found myself on my feet, every nerve in my body was strung as tight as a fiddle-string and all tingling. I knew then that I had a message for that assemblage." Newspapers throughout the country printed portions of the address and credited Grady with doing much toward reconciling the North and the South. In this connection consider the spirit of such poems as "The Blue and the Gray" by F. M. Finch, "Answering to Roll-call" and "The War-ship 'Dixie'" by Frank L. Stanton, and "The New Memorial Day" by Albert B. Paine (in "Poetry of the People"). "The Literary Digest" of February 15, 1913, contains an account of the first monument celebrating "The Blue and the Gray," which is being erected in the city of Fitzgerald, Georgia. The reader will surely notice in the third paragraph the graceful courtesy of the speaker and his consciousness that he was present as the representative of the South.

42. In the fourth and fifth paragraphs Grady uses colloquial and facetious phrases in order to disarm any antagonism that his sentiments might provoke.

43–3. There cannot be the slightest doubt of Grady's sincerity in this tribute to Lincoln or of his rhetorical skill in thus insuring a friendly hearing by his praise of a Northern hero. Macaulay, in his "Essay on Milton," in a similar way shows that Milton combined the best qualities of both Puritan and Cavalier.

44-2. An effective example of contrast, which introduces the main point of the address. Here we have oratory of a high quality.

44-31. "— his people without law or legal status." Although the national government established military rule and federal courts as soon as possible, yet the practical effect was, for a short period after Lee's surrender, just as Grady has described the situation.

45-24. The "brave and beautiful city" is Atlanta, Ga.

46-8. What do "four per cent bonds" indicate as to the financial reputation of a city?

47-11. So live a subject as the negro question lends itself to prejudiced discussion. If the matter is taken up in class by students, it should be studied dispassionately and with a desire to help solve the problem. See "The Literary Digest" of February 1, 1913, for a suggestive article showing by census returns the wonderful advance made by the negro in his fifty years of freedom.

49-14. "Jewel in the toad's head." Since the time of Pliny (first century A.D.) frequent reference has been made to the belief that the toad, although ugly and venomous, has in its head a stone or jewel of wondrous virtue. Shakspere and prose writers of his time refer to this superstition. The idea still exists in such metaphorical form as is here illustrated.

50-16. Is the new and different tone of the last four paragraphs in good taste? Recall the occasion of the speech, the native state of the speaker, and the intemperate statements that frequently disgraced both North and South. Notice especially the reference to Grant and Lee.

52-20. The closing quotation may be found unabridged in Shakspere's King Henry IV, Part I, Scene I. Why did Grady omit certain portions of the passage?

AMERICA'S LOVE OF PEACE

63. Many teachers and students using this book will desire to read further among the speeches of recent years and the earlier speeches on peace and war. It would be well, then, to communicate with the American Peace Society, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.; for that society furnishes an extensive bibliography, sends some publications gratis and many at a trifling cost. In addition, Vol. III (America) of The World's Famous Orations (Funk and Wagnalls, N. Y.) contains speeches by Schurz, Curtis, Grady, Miss Willard, and McKinley, all of which will prove interesting and enlightening as to the trend of recent history. Current events also may be correlated with the study of this speech; for, as the Third Hague Conference draws near, much attention will be given to the subject of peace.

63-1. The occasion of Secretary Hay's speech was the Thirteenth International Congress of Peace, opened on October 3, 1904, in Boston.

63-8. The Russo-Japanese War, February 10, 1904, to September 5, 1905.

63-9. Presidential election of November 8, 1904.

63-17. "Who's Who" for 1903–1905 and the Encyclopedia of National Biography contain information about the men referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3.

64-15. Proverbs XIV, 34. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." Here, as in Burke's speeches, we find Biblical echoes.

64-31. Some of Franklin's utterances on war follow: "—the foolish part of mankind will make wars from time to time with each other, not having sense enough otherwise to

settle their differences." (Letter to Edmund Burke, October 15, 1781.) "All wars are follies, very expensive, and very mischievous ones." (January 27, 1783.) "There never was a good war or a bad peace." (July 27, 1783.) "An army is a devouring monster." (September 20, 1787.)

65–12. Elsewhere he said, "I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine." General Sheridan said in 1876, "War will eliminate itself. . . . By the next centennial, arbitration will rule the world."

65–17. In his second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865, about five weeks before his assassination, Lincoln said, "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away."

65–21. Reference to the news reviews of 1898 will show how the passion of the country was aroused largely by "yellow journalism." If The Hague Tribunal had been in existence at that time, would the outcome of the blowing up of the "Maine" have been different? In this connection, consider the "Dogger Bank" incident of the Russo-Japanese War.

65–33. The Czar in August of 1898 and in January of 1899 invited the nations of the world to a peace conference at The Hague. This met in May of 1899 and organized The Hague Court, which opened in 1901.

66–3. These matters are treated in greater detail in the Life of John Hay preceding this speech.

66–21. The Spanish-American War freed Cuba and the Philippines from the oppression of Spain.

66–22. The independence of Panama from Colombia was secured in 1903 and is guaranteed by the United States.

66–25. This matter is discussed in the editor's account of the life of John Hay.

66–29. The Philippines. After the capture of Aguinaldo the larger part of the United States troops was withdrawn and an educational army of American teachers took their place. The results of their work make it possible for Con-

gress to consider (in 1913) the matter of granting self-government to the Filipinos.

67–16. Since 1904 sentiment has so changed that many people now refuse to believe what were formerly regarded as axioms on peace and war. The alternative axiom is suggested, "In time of peace prepare by treaties to refer every grievance to the World Court."

68–1. Most of these hymns were written in earlier times when men had not heard of arbitration. Recent hymn books omit many of this kind of sacred songs.

68–10. Romans VII, 24.

68–17. "Bethink Yourselves" (American Peace Society).

69–28. The Second Hague Conference, on account of the Russo-Japanese War, did not meet until June, 1907. At that time much was done to ameliorate the horrors of war.

70–23. During President Taft's administration treaties providing for the arbitration of *all* disputes were signed by the United States and England and by the United States and France.

72–14. Matthew V, 9. "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

THE PAN-AMERICAN SPIRIT

83. During the summer of 1906 Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, made a sixteen thousand mile trip, touching at the principal seaports of South America. His official position and the fact that he sailed on the United States' cruiser *Charleston*, secured him a cordial reception in every city that he visited. Rio de Janeiro in particular paid him great honor. He was escorted in stately procession up the mile-long Avenida Central, which had been decorated with flowers for the occasion, to the building where the Pan-American Conference had been in session since July 23d. Here he delivered on July 31st the address on "The Pan-American Spirit."

The sincerity of the speaker and the moderation and wisdom of his message, served to restore almost immediately the confidence of the southern republics in the good faith of the United States. At the close of the speech the representative of the Brazilian Government announced that, in honor of the official guest and of the United States, the Conference building would thereafter be known as Palacio Monroe.

83–15. Cf. Note 25–2, on "True Americanism."

In this connection, the student should call to mind the policy of the United States in the Philippines. Since 1898 the natives have been educated by American teachers according to American methods for the purpose of preparing them for self government.

84–20. That this prophecy had its basis in a keen observation, can be seen by the events of 1912, when China became a republic.

85–25. This conception of national life, distinctively of our own time, has its chief expression in The Hague Tribunal.

86–19. This will be particularly true when the Panama Canal is in use.

87–9. A league of the student societies of the South American universities is doing much to further international peace, understanding, and sympathy. It has held congresses at Montevideo in 1908, at Buenos Aires in 1910, and at Lima, Peru in 1912. The object is to create a student sympathy throughout Latin America.

87–22. Because of the Spanish-American War some South American countries distrusted the intentions of the United States. One of the chief purposes of Secretary Root's trip was to assure our southern neighbors that we had no idea of entering on an imperialistic career.

89. A careful study of Secretary Root's speech cannot fail to suggest many topics for discussion and debate—topics that are the more valuable because each month's news of the world throws new light on them.

A study of Mr. Root's speech will naturally awaken interest in the affairs of South America. Much information can be obtained by reading the articles listed in the Bibliography of Elihu Root's Career and in other magazines of 1906. Students can find in the current daily papers and in the "Bulletin of the Pan-American Union" (published monthly in Washington) news that will bring the subject matter of this speech up to date. Commercial students, debating societies, and all who are interested in the progress of the world of to-day, will gain from these sources many valuable facts and ideas.

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